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ABSTRACT

A comparative study of value orientations among Finnish and Chinese adolescents was conducted focusing on how secondary school students in these two cultures understand the purpose and meaningfulness of their lives and the value purposes they foresee in the future. The survey took place in the comprehensive schools of suburban towns in Finland and China. The 342 Finnish and 183 Chinese students were all in grade 9. Data came from the Purpose in Life Test (J. Crumbaugh and L. Maholik, 1969, as modified by H. Niemie (1987), Deans Alienation Scale (D. Dean 1961, as modified by Niemie, 1987), and a value purpose questionnaire developed for the study. Results reveal the different cultural orientations of the two societies. In Finland, young people have a very individualistic view of their lives and seem very self-regulated and self-determined. In social issues, they are less empowered than Chinese teenagers, who grow up in a society in which family and collective values are emphasized. Some limitations of the study, in terms of translation and student age, are discussed. Three appendixes contain three tables of study data. (Contains 9 tables and 25 references.) (SLD)

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Self-regulation and moral orientation among Finnish and Chinese adolescents

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Objectives of the presentation

This presentation will introduce a comparative study of value orientations among Finnish and Chinese adolescents. The presentation focuses on the questions of how secondary school students, in two different cultures, understand the purpose and meaningfulness of their life and what kinds of value purposes they foresee in their future. How social perspectives are present in their value orientations and with whom they share their existential and value questions, are also important viewpoints. The session will introduce empirical results describing similarities and differences between student groups. Furthermore, it will raise questions concerning how we should give more space to social integration, as a research methodological issue and as an educational task, when our purpose is to empower adolescents with self-regulation.

Perspectives and theoretical frameworks

The study is based on a concept that people have the need to find purposes and meaningfulness in their life and they necessitate abilities to control their life. Seeing an individual as an active agent includes the idea that human beings have self-regulatory capacities (e.g. Boekaerts & Pintrich & Zeidner, 2000). The more capable people believe themselves to be, the higher the goals they set for themselves and the more firmly committed they remain to those goals (Zimmerman, 2000:18). Also in moral behaviour, a human being needs "moral self-efficacy" - a capacity to set value goals for themselves and pursue them.

Much interest has emerged in understanding self-regulatory behaviour. However, research on behavioural self-regulation has predominantly focused on processes, such as controlling thoughts and emotions and attention management, to explain goal-oriented action and adaptive function. The common factor is the significant emphasis on the self and self-management.

Self-in-social-setting regulation shifts the focus to concepts of communality and interpersonal relatedness. Tamara Jackson, Jean Mackenzie, and Stevan, E. Hobfoll (2000) emphasize that "traditional models of self-regulation assume that behavior is determined by individual goals and needs with limited influence from others or the environmental context". They introduce "Self-in-

social setting" approach which sees behaviour from more of a collectivist perspective. Communal regulation, as a complementary concept to self-regulation , recognizes that individuals self-regulate and monitor their actions within a network of a socially mediated factors, such as family, organizational, and group based needs, goals and desires.

A key feature of a social cognitive model of self-regulation is the interdependent roles of social, environmental, and self influences (Zimmerman 2000 24). Encouraged with these findings and approaches by those researchers who emphasise the reciprocal nature of human value behaviour (e.g. Frankl, 1978, Giddens, 1991, Goleman, 1996, Emmons, 1999, Zohar & Marshall, 2000), we have developed this comparative study in two countries, which have undergone deep political, social and cultural transformations (Niemi, 2000, Xin Hua Agency 2000).

Two components of self-regulation in moral behaviour have been selected to be investigated in the life of adolescents. The first component is how they see their own life's value and how they see their own responsibility and control over their life. This area focuses on the students' self and self-management. The second component is the role of the social dimension in their life and how empowered or alienated they see themselves as a social agent.

The comparative study of Finnish and Chinese students, started in 1999, consists of several research issues, from which self-regulation and its social component form one important part. The other issues are related to school experiences have been reported earlier.

An contextual description of adolescence in China and Finland

The Chinese culture is rooted in a dialectical unity of individuals and groups. A philosophical tradition of Yin and Yang in Taoism and Confucianism emphasize harmony, holism, unification and authority. Life involves both individual and collective efforts. The self is defined by the surrounding social contexts and seen as an extension of relational networks and thus cannot be separated from existence of others (Jackson et al., 2000, Gao 1996). In the Chinese society, family's role has always been and still is very important. The adolescents have not had the same kind of an autonomous and individualistic status than youngsters in Western countries. During the last two

decades China has experienced many great social changes. In 1978, Deng Xiaoping started the economic reform, which had been reinforced as a key theme by his successors. These changes have given an impetus to a reform of education in many respects, such as developing basic education, adjusting the structure of secondary education and improving the recruitment system in universities (Cui Xianglu, 1993: 551). Today Chinese young people have more equal opportunities to get school education than earlier and individuals have more chances to make choices in their life. However, in spite of many social, economic and educational improvements there seems to be severe difficulties among adolescents. A recent research, undertaken in the six secondary schools of Hefei City, shows that more than 20% of teenagers under investigation (n = 2044) suffer depression, and at least 15% of the subjects have considered committing suicide. Adolescents' violent behaviour and drug problems have increased rapidly (Xin Hua Agency, July 21, 2000).

Finland developed very rapidly from an agricultural to an industrial society at the beginning of the 1960s, and during the last twenty years into a highly technological country and a welfare state. In a short time, a high development of computer science and telecommunication technology has transferred the country into a knowledge-producing society, in which life-long education and high competence are considered as key targets. These structural changes of the society have been very huge and rapid. Society has been segregated into informal groups according to age. Teenagers have their own groups and cultures. Adults have their own life spheres - very often they are extremely busy in their work, and the time shared between parents and children is decreasing continuously. Symptoms of malaise among adolescents can also be seen in the Finnish society. Depressive and aggressive behaviour of teenagers has been reported in many national reports. There is also evidence that young people do not have any more common core values which some decades ago still unified people in Finland (Helve, 1997). Social responsibility and importance of community have weakened and value relativism and aiming at individual success seem to be typical features of youngsters' behaviour.

The changes in two societies gave an impulse to investigate how adolescents in two different cultures see themselves as active contributors in their own life and in social community. There is the danger that, if an external environment is full of changes and supportive traditions have been broken, the person looses his or her own active touch with the challenges of life. There are many voices speaking about the "crisis of meaning" (Frankl, 1978, Giddens, 1991, Beck, 1992, 1994,

Emmons, 1999, Zohar & Marshall, 2000) of our era. Giddens emphasizes the importance of finding oneself, which is an active process of self construction (Giddens, 1991: 79).

Methods of inquiry

An empirical survey was made in the comprehensive schools in two suburban towns: in Järvenpää (Finland) and in Xinjian (China), in 1999. The subjects, Finns (n = 342) and Chinese (n = 183), aged 15, were all from grade nine in the junior level of secondary school.

The Chinese Xinhua Middle School is located in the town of Xinjian County, a suburb of Nanchang, the capital city of the Jiangxi province in the East China area. This is an ordinary middle school. Many of the subjects were children of living peasants nearby. The Finnish town, Järvenpää, is located in Southern Finland nearby the capital city of Helsinki. It is a young town which was established 50 years ago, following a long farming and village history. It has been confronted with the big social movements of the Finnish society. Along with strong structural changes in livelihood, many people started to move from northern areas to seek jobs in the South and the capital city area.

The data was collected by questionnaires.

The Purpose In Life Test (PIL), developed originally by Crumbaugh and Maholik (Crumbaugh & Maholik 1969) was modified to test the life situation of young people (Niemi 1987). It consisted of 20 variables to measure students' views of the meaningfulness in their life, importance of their own action and responsibility, and four open ended questions referring to the students' expectations of their schools, homes and free time activities to help them find their life meanings.

Dean's Alienation Scale was modified to measure how students react to social empowerment in their life (Dean 1961, see also Niemi 1987, p.41). The variables covered different aspects of social empowerment, such as social responsibilities, interdependence and abilities to handle social interaction.

Value Purpose Questionnaire consisted of 12 different value goals in students' orientation for their future.

The survey also consisted of questions related to with whom and how often they share their reflections on existential questions.

The data have been analysed quantitatively by means, standard deviations, correlation scores and factor analysis. Reliability qualities were explored by correlations and stability with earlier measurements is very high (Niemi 1987). The variance analysis, ANOVA, was also used to find differences in and between two cultural groups. The open-ended questions were analysed by qualitative categorisation.

The items of the PILTest were factor-analysed in a traditional exploratory way. Both orthogonal (varimax) and oblique (promax) rotations were performed separately and jointly, using various numbers of factors. One joint analysis was carried out while the level of variables was centred on the same mean in both data sets (Finnish, Chinese). A comparison between all the results of the two cultural groups shows that factorial structures of life purpose items were rather different. For Finns, the structure is one-dimensional (Purpose In Life, Alpha=.91), demonstrating the students' own active and purposeful approach in their own life. For the Chinese, the structure is two or three dimensional, having the dimensions of (1) the students' own active influence on their own life, (2) awareness of aims in their own life and (3) a sense of interest in life.

Empirical results and evidence

Purpose in life

The items of the PIL Test can be seen in Appendix 1. We may find obvious general disparity between Finnish and Chinese groups in the PIL Test.

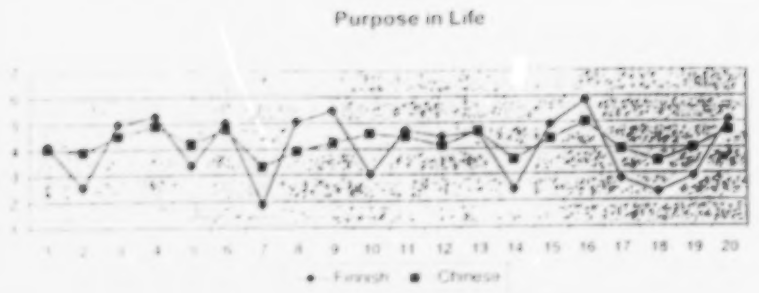

Table 1. Mean values of the PIL test among Finnish and Chinese adolescents (see also Appendix 1)

There are significant statistical differences of mean values in 16 of the 20 variables, which all give evidence of Finnish students' stronger empowerment with emphasis on self and self-determination. It seems that the Chinese youngsters do not define their life in this way. The scale was constructed with opposites, which were self-assessed on a 1-7 point scale. Finnish students are much closer to the first opposite than the Chinese students, e.g. in the following items: 18 "My life is in my hands – out of my hands (M 2.30/3.46, SD 1.36/1.96; Finn/Chinese), 14 "I believe that life is determined by me – by my environment and inherited qualities" (M 2.43/3.57, SD 1.34/1.95), 19 "My daily duties give me pleasure – pain" (M 2.87/4.00, SD 1.35/1.64), and 17 "I regard my ability to find the meaning of life as very great – completely impossible" (M 2.87/3.95, SD 1.43/1.99). Finnish students also assess their progress in their life purposes greater than the Chinese students: 8 "In achieving goals I have made no great progress (7) – great progress (1)" (M 5.03/3.84, SD 1.28/1.64).

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Summarizing the results, we may conclude that Finnish teenagers have more positive attitudes toward themselves and their present life. They show more confidence in their abilities and actions to control their own lives, find more pleasure and satisfaction in their daily duties, are more aware of their progress in achieving their life goals, and see their present lives as more worthwhile. It gives evidence to say that they are more empowered than their age mates in China. It seems that the Chinese youngsters do not seem to have a sense of their self-progress and control over their life. The PIL Test consists of variables which comes from the tradition of the self-regulation and empowerment with a strong self-focus. The self-regulatory behaviour is seen as a control process how an individual with their personal efforts manage their behaviour and even their life conditions. The Chinese culture does not define behaviour in this way. Even a concept of a purpose in life is a holistic process with an individual and their social community.

Alienation in Life

The Alienation Questionnaire (Likert scale items: 1 strongly agree – 5 strongly disagree) also indicates big differences of mean values between student groups.

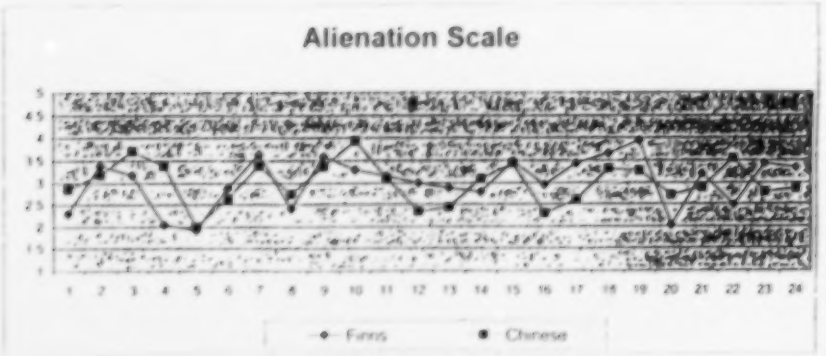

Table 2. Mean values of the Alienation Scale among Finnish and Chinese adolescents (see also Appendix 2)

There are significant statistical differences in 17 of the 24 variables. The results give clear evidence that Chinese students are socially more empowered than the Finnish students. Finnish adolescents are more uncertain in social responsibilities as, 1 "I worry about the future facing today's children" (M 2.30/2.84, SD 1.06/1.27, Finns/Chinese) and 3 "It would be frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child" (M 3.18/3.71, SD 1.27/1.22), and 4 "There is little or nothing I can do to prevent a war" (M 2.03/3.39, SD 1.15/1.28). In social interdependence, Finns also feel fewer trustfulness (e.g., 21 "The world in which we live is basically a friendly place" (M 3.19/2.87, SD 1.28/1.36) and 22 "People nowadays rely very little on each other (M 2.48/3.54, SD 1.08/1.22). Finns also think, that 10 "A good purpose justifies any kinds of means" (M 3.28/3.94, SD 1.26/1.33), indicating that social interdependence is not an easy issue for them. However, peer relationships are easier for Finnish students than for the Chinese students (e.g., items 17,20 and, 24) and in this sense they seem to be empowered. Interesting, and also indicating some kind of emergency, is that both teenage groups agree with the item 5 "Promoting in life requires great toughness" (M 1.92/1.99, SD 1.02/1.40).

Inter correlations of the Alienation Scale reveal that some variables have a more central role in both groups. The item 16 "Sometimes I feel extremely alone in the world" has a significant statistical relationship with 19 variables in the Finnish group and with 11 variables in the Chinese group. It shows that social empowerment has a reciprocal interaction with a person and his environment. The interesting result also is that there are certain variables which have strong correlations (significant values with 14-19 other variables) within the Finnish group, but not in the Chinese group. These all have a quality that indicates difficulties or uncertainties in social issues, e.g. 11 "People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on", 14 "The only thing one can be sure of today is that everything is unsure in life" and, 2 "Sometimes I have a feeling that other people are using me".

The findings give support to promote "self in social setting" approach in self regulated behaviour. Generally, Finnish teenagers are more independent, individualistic and self confident and they place more emphasis on their own actions, choices and abilities in their search for meaning in their lives. However, in contrast, Chinese teenagers see themselves more empowered in social contexts. The important challenge is how to get these dimensions to be complementary to each other. Jackson et al. (2000) warn of a myth of individualism. They say that the promise of individualism

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assumes that self-regulation and subsequently, self-management are predominantly within individuals' control and the main purpose is to exercise personal will even if it means exhibiting little consideration for others. They introduce a concept of interchance which is a "key to optimal functioning within a social context and communally working together for the well-being of a collective group, such as a family" (Jackson et al., 2000: 282). They continue that "People do not act independently because their individual needs typically are weighed against the needs of others who will be impacted by their decisions and actions. Individual goal are intertwined with social goals and are accomplished through interpersonal interaction" (Jackson 2000: 283).

Values in Life

The Value Purpose Questionnaire consisted of 12 goals, using a 5 point scale (1 = fits my opinion completely, 5 = doesn't fit at all). They were asked to answer how the statements fit with their opinions.

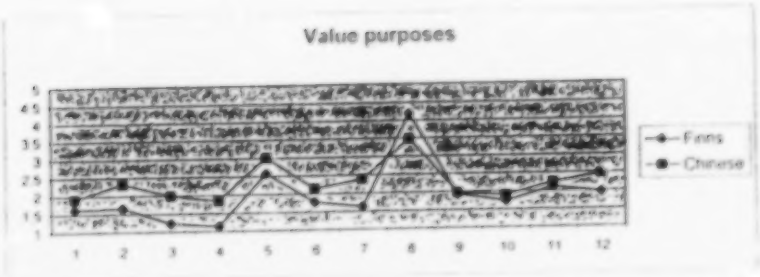

Table 5. Mean values of the Value Purposes Test among Finnish and Chinese adolescents. (see also Appendix 5)

The analyses using the orders of the mean values shows that the most important goal in both groups is 4 "to be happy". Five other most important value goals for the Chinese are in the following order: 10 "to work hard for excellent achievements at school", 2. "to develop oneself all the time", 9 "to act so that relations with parents and teachers are good", and 5 "to find a pleasant job". The Finnish adolescents also want to be happy, but the five most important goals are in the

following order: 3 "to find a pleasant job", 2 "to develop oneself all the time", 7 "to find purpose in one's life" and 2 "to earn much money". The real difference is that the Chinese students place greater value on their parents and teachers, as well as school, in their life.

IN MY LIFE I WOULD LIKE

Finnish	Chinese
1. [illegible]	1. to be happy
2. to find a pleasant job	7. to work hard for excellent achievements at school
3. to develop myself all the time	3. to develop myself all the time
4. to find purpose for my life	4. to get on that relationships with my parents and teachers were good
5. to earn much money	2. to find a pleasant job
6. to work hard for excellent achievements at school	6. to overcome difficulties by educating myself
7. to overcome difficulties by educating myself	7. to learn to see that sufferings can also have some purpose
8. to get on that relationships with my parents and teachers were good	8. to earn much money
9. to take on even difficult tasks	9. to find purpose for my life
10. to learn to see that sufferings can also have some purpose	10. to take on even difficult tasks
11. to spend extra efforts	11. to spend extra efforts
12. that other people would make decisions on my behalf	12. that other people would make decisions on my behalf

Table 4. The ranking order of Value Purposes among Finnish and Chinese adolescents (see also Appendix 3)

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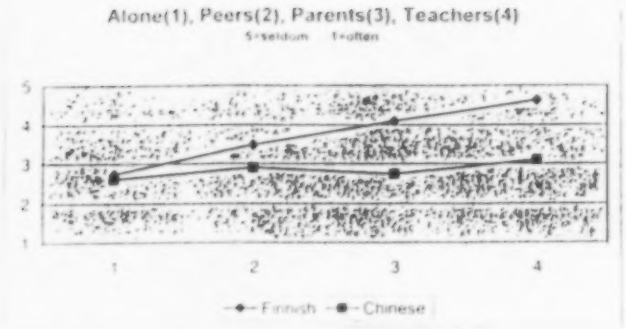
The importance of parents, teachers and school was visible in open ended answers of Chinese students. The answers demonstrate a different cultural orientation as well. As shown above, 36% of the Chinese emphasize the teaching and learning function of school. In their perspectives, efficient teaching and learning is very important for them to find meaning in their life. Many Chinese students wrote in the questionnaire that "the school should be the source of knowledge", "the window through which we see knowledge of the world", "the place in which we grow up with rich knowledge and high abilities", "an institution to teach us more knowledge, improve our abilities and moral integrity". They expect good teaching and efficient learning and that "the school should be more disciplined, controlled and in good order". Many Chinese students mentioned that "harmonious and good personal relationships at school would help them to reflect on the meaning of life". Some of those students compared "school" to "home". They wrote that "the school is my second home, classmates are like my brothers and sisters". The Chinese students expressed their need for teachers' support and encouragement in dealing with existential questions. One Chinese student wrote that "teachers' support is very important to me. Sometimes I feel very scared when I reflect on my existing problems because I find that I get little help, like a lonely traveller wandering up and down the road of my life".

The Finnish adolescents have their own life territories and they do not talk about existential questions with adults, neither with teachers and nor with their parents. However, they would like to have more adult people's support to deal with their problems in school, or in general in life. Many students expect their parents' and teacher' care-taking and expect to have more support and encouragement from them. But they expect very equal relationship with adult people and emphasize the importance of open and friendly discussion with parents as well as teachers. They hope that parents and teachers could better understand teen-agers' needs and problems and helped them to find their own ways. They sometimes would like to "... discuss about something else other than school issues", ... to have "more friendship between students and teachers". They hope that ... "teachers would sometimes be more like friends". Some students said that ... "we would need more advice from experienced adults."

With whom do teenagers reflect on the purpose of their life?

It seems that Chinese students are more social and also adult-oriented in value reflections. The questions, related to with whom and how often teenagers reflect on the purpose of their life,

revealed that 76% of the Finnish and 71% of the Chinese students reflect on it alone (either very or fairly often, or at least sometimes). Finnish adolescents share existential and value questions with their teachers (1%) and parents (7%) only in very few cases. Chinese students reflect on the purpose of life with their teachers (33%) and with their parents (46%) very and fairly often.



1: p=N.S. 2: p<.001 3: p<.001 4: p<.001

Table 5. With whom do you reflect on the meaning of life?

Finnish students usually prefer to explore the meaning of life alone. In the Chinese society, collective values and the family have always been emphasized, but the percentage of when the reflect alone is even higher than for the Finns. The percentage of reflecting alone (very often + fairly often) in the Chinese group is 48 % and among the Finns it is 39%. This fact reveals a dialectical unity of individuals and groups, and a typical Chinese philosophical tradition. In their eyes, the search for the meaning of life involves both individual and collective efforts. They consider that teachers and peers at school are as important as themselves in their reflection. This follows the Chinese way of thinking, the called "Doctrine of the Mean" (also translated as the Middle Way) in Confucius' terms (Book of Mencius 1992; see also Zhang Liwen 1992: 11).

The open-questions of the questionnaire asked students to express from whom they want to get support most to find purpose of their life. The results confirm that the Chinese students see their

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parents as well as teachers important mediators. The Finnish student did not mention teachers at all and their friends were more important than their parents.

	Finns (N = 342)	Chinese (N=183)
Parents	33,3 % (114)	40, 98% (75)
Friends	40,1 % (137)	32,79% (60)
Teacher	-	21,31 % (39)

Table 6. From whom do you want to get support most to find purpose in you life?

Conclusions and importance of the study

These results reveal the different cultural orientations in the two societies. In Finland, as in many other Western societies, young people have a very individualist view of their life. They seem to be very self-regulated and self-determined. However, in social issues they are much less empowered than Chinese teenagers. In the Chinese society, the family and collective values have always been emphasised (Zhang Liwen 1992). This raises the question of whether Western teenagers grow up too much on their own, within their own age group, without interaction with adults. Finnish students miss the encouragement and support of adults, however, emphasising an equal relationship between adolescents and adults. We must see the importance of social factors when educating young people for self-regulation. They need a reciprocal interaction with different age and cultural groups to learn social abilities and strategies for self-regulation.

This research is a preliminary study of two schools, in relation to human existential questions in two different cultures. Although it provides many constructive suggestions to educators, it also has some inevitable limitations. First of all, any measures and scales are always culture-bounded. Every culture has its distinguished way to ask questions. Some question concerning to existential questions are more sensitive in a different cultural context. For example, a member in a collectivist culture would be more careful in dealing with the question about her/his personal achievements and abilities because overwhelming emphasis on individuals abilities would be seen as problematic and

not boast. They might think they are not used to answer some of the questions in the way it is in the questionnaire. It is also important to understand that all Chinese students of this study belong to Han nationality. Although Han is the major nationality in China, accounting for 91.96 percent of the total population (Jun Shi 1993: 35), there are fifty-five other nationalities. There are significant differences in beliefs and values between the Han and other nationalities. (Li Boshu 1992: 367). Even in the Han nationality, differences are considerable, depending on different areas, dialects and sub-cultures (ibid.). So the results of this study need not to be adequate to explain the values, beliefs and problems all Chinese adolescents have.

In educational research there is a need that research methods should be developed to reveal a social dimension in self-regulation, especially in value orientation. Our study has started in this direction. However, although we attempt to get a high reliability and validity in the measurement, there are limitations. The students in our study are all about 15 years old. There is the danger that teenagers cannot understand existential questions deeply enough. Furthermore, the language issue should be taken into account, since concepts are translated from English into Finnish and into Chinese. The same concepts may have different meanings in different cultural milieu. Four open-ended questions were added to control the validity. In further research, we would need complementary methods which allow more space for an interpretative approach. However, this survey, involving validated questionnaires and some open-ended questions, and with researchers who are very familiar with the students' cultural contexts, reveals many significant cultural differences. It also presents important challenges in supporting teenagers to find a purpose in their life and in progressing towards self-regulation, where both individual and social components have seriously been taken into account and balanced. This is an important task for schools and families, as well as for education researchers.

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Appendix 1. Purpose in Life Test. The means, standard deviation and ANOVA scores of the PIL Test (1 = completely, 2 = fairly, 3 = a little, 4 = no idea, 5 = a little, 6 = fairly, 7 = completely) Finns N = 342, *Chinese N = 183*

Items	M	SD	ANOVA	
			F	Sig.
1. Going to school is *boring - exciting*	4.10 *4.03*	1.52 *1.18*	.338	None
2. Life seems to *interesting - monotonous*	2.52 *3.91*	1.70 *1.59*	80.039	.000
3. I have *no life goals - clear goals*	4.95 *4.49*	1.47 *1.40*	12.127	.001
4. My life is *Empty - meaningful*	5.25 *4.85*	1.45 *1.64*	8.180	.005
5. Everyday seems to *New - same*	3.36 *4.19*	1.64 *1.69*	30.137	.000
6. I would prefer never *to have been born - to have many lives*	4.97 *4.72*	1.47 *1.70*	3.119	None
7. When finishing study, I *would like* *to do interesting things - to lead the rest of my life*	1.87 *3.32*	1.39 *2.01*	94.031	.000
8. In achieving goals, I have made *No - great progress*	5.03 *1.84*	1.28 *1.64*	77.849	.000
9. My free time is *Despairing - full of good things*	5.45 *4.23*	1.43 *1.73*	74.954	.000
10. If I would die today, I would *feel life is* *Worthwhile - worthless*	3.0 *4.58*	1.72 *1.99*	89.889	.000
11. I often wonder *Why I exist - see meaning in my existing*	4.05 *4.42*	1.74 *1.91*	2.481	None
12. Thinking everything in the world and about my task, I feel *Confusing - my obligation*	4.46 *4.10*	1.65 *1.81*	5.101	None
13. In doing my duty, I try *to get off - to be very responsible*	4.89 *4.66*	1.73 *1.78*	1.91	None
14. I believe that life is determined *by my own - by my environment* *and inherited qualities*	2.43 *3.57*	1.43 *1.95*	60.453	.000

15. Death seems to *be very frighten - natural*	4.92 *4.16*	1.64 *1.92*	10.507	.001
16. Suicide *could - never be a solution to my problem*	5.83 *4.97*	1.75 *1.94*	27.316	.000
17. I regard my ability to find meaning of life *very great - completely none*	2.97 *3.95*	1.43 *1.95*	72.034	.000
18. My life is *in my hand - out of my hand*	2.30 *3.46*	1.36 *1.96*	63.091	.000
19. My daily duties give me *Pleasure - pain*	2.87 *4.00*	1.35 *1.64*	71.079	.000
20. I have discovered *no meaningful - clear purpose of my life*	5.05 *4.64*	1.48 *1.70*	8.146	.005

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Appendix 2. *The Alienation Questionnaire.* The means, standard deviation and ANOVA scores of The Alienation Questionnaire(1 = strongly agree, 2 = agree to some extent, 3 = uncertain, 4 = disagree to some extent, 5 = strongly disagree). Items N = 342, ***Chinese N = 181***

Items	M	SD	ANOVA	
			F	Sig
1 I worry about the future facing today's children	2.30 ***2.84***	1.06 ***1.27***	26.673	.000
2 Sometimes I have the feeling that other people are using me	3.37 ***3.17***	1.25 ***1.27***	3(**).	None
3 It would be frightening to be responsible for the development of a little child	3.18 ***3.71***	1.27 ***1.22***	21.423	.000
4 There is little or nothing I can do to prevent a war	2.05 ***3.19***	1.15 ***1.28***	148.529	.000
5 Promoting in life requires great toughness	1.92 ***1.99***	1.02 ***1.40***	.444	None
6 There are so many decisions that I have to make that sometimes I could just "blow up"	2.88 ***2.65***	1.26 ***1.27***	3.857	.050
7 Nowadays people have no freedom of choice even in personal matters	3.64 ***4.19***	1.17 ***1.22***	3.278	.071
8 We are just like little cogs in the big machinery of life	2.41 ***2.71***	1.26 ***1.33***	7.657	.006
9 The future looks very dismal	3.60 ***4.36***	1.26 ***1.41***	4.005	.046
10 A good purpose justifies any kind of means	3.28 ***3.94***	1.26 ***1.33***	31.592	.000
11 People's ideas change so much that I wonder if we'll ever have anything to depend on	3.14 ***3.10***	1.08 ***1.27***	.101	None
12 Everything is relative, and there just aren't any definite rules to live by	3.01 ***2.34***	1.11 ***1.36***	34.924	.000
13 I often wonder what the meaning of life really is	2.87 ***2.43***	1.31 ***1.26***	13.081	.000
14 The only thing one can be sure of today is that everything is unsure in life	2.79 ***3.08***	1.28 ***1.37***	5.746	.017
15 There are so many religions that one doesn't really know which to believe in	3.48 ***3.43***	1.40 ***1.23***	.207	None
16 Sometimes I feel extremely alone in the world	2.94 ***3.30***	1.38 ***1.27***	27.299	.000
17 I don't get invited out by my friends as often as I'd really like	3.42 ***2.60***	1.34 ***1.19***	45.178	.000

18 Most people very seldom feel lonely	3.67 ***3.31***	1.01 ***1.25***	12.716	.000
19 Real friends are as easy as ever to find	3.93 ***3.27***	1.17 ***1.41***	33.003	.000
20 One can always find friends if he himself shows friendliness	2.02 ***2.71***	1.08 ***1.38***	39.737	.000
21 The world in which we live is basically a friendly place	3.19 ***2.87***	1.24 ***1.36***	7.220	.007
22 People nowadays rely very little on each other	2.48 ***3.94***	1.01 ***1.22***	114.346	.000
23 People are naturally friendly and helpful	3.43 ***2.79***	1.03 ***1.38***	36.216	.000
24 I don't get to visit friends as often as I'd really like	3.33 ***2.85***	1.37 ***1.35***	14.643	.000

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Appendix 3. Life Purposes Questionnaire. The means, standard deviation and ANOVA scores of Life purposes (1 = fits completely with my opinion, 2 = fits to some extent with my opinion, 3 = difficult to say, 4 = doesn't fit with my opinion, 5 = doesn't fit at all with my opinion). Finns *N* = 342, *Chinese N = 183*

Items	M	SD	ANOVA	
			F	Sig.
IN MY LIFE I WOULD LIKE...				
1. to develop myself all the time.	1.63 *1.91*	.86 *1.06*	10.839	.001
2. to earn much money.	1.66 *2.32*	.86 *.95*	65.402	.000
3. to find a pleasant job.	1.23 *1.99*	.63 *1.14*	96.263	.000
4. to be happy.	1.14 *1.84*	.55 *1.16*	86.030	.000
5. to avoid extra efforts.	2.57 *3.01*	1.08 *1.37*	15.736	.000
6. to overcome difficulties by educating myself.	1.77 *2.14*	.83 *1.18*	17.415	.000
7. to find purpose for my life.	1.63 *2.38*	.95 *1.17*	34.078	.000
8. that other people would make decisions on my behalf.	4.19 *3.48*	1.00 *1.17*	53.797	.000
9. to act so that relationships with my parents and teachers were good.	1.93 *1.98*	.99 *1.18*	.272	None
10. to work hard for excellent achievements at school.	1.73 *1.89*	.81 *1.27*	3.076	.080
11. to learn to see that sufferings can also have some purpose.	2.11 *2.24*	1.04 *1.14*	1.784	None
12. to take on even difficult tasks.	1.96 *2.47*	.92 *1.20*	29.822	.000

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